



[This Photo](#)

[CC BY](#)



BERT LAHR

RAY BOLGER

JACK HALEY



# Consider the GLOBAL picture

- Election cycles in NATO and other countries
- Russian global influence, e.g. Rosatom and nuclear energy production
- Chinese global influence and ownership, e.g. Italian ports, US ports
- International criminal activity in the US and among allies
- Societal issues: immigration to the NATO countries, birth rates, changing demographics



"I don't have to tell you how fragile this precious gift of freedom is. Every time we hear, watch, or read the news, we are reminded that liberty is a rare commodity in this world."

President Ronald Reagan, 5.26.1983



**IT DEPENDS**

**SCHADENFREUDE**



# **NATO 2024**

**CAPSTONE  
NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY  
FEBRUARY 28, 2024**



NATO countries are  
17% OF EARTH'S  
HABITABLE AREA,  
12% OF THE  
WORLD'S POPULATION



# With Whom Is The USA Playing?

**NATO – 31(+1)+1**

**EUROPEAN UNION –  
27+1**

**UN – 192 +1**





**Of the  
world's top  
25 most  
populous  
countries,  
only 6 are in  
NATO**

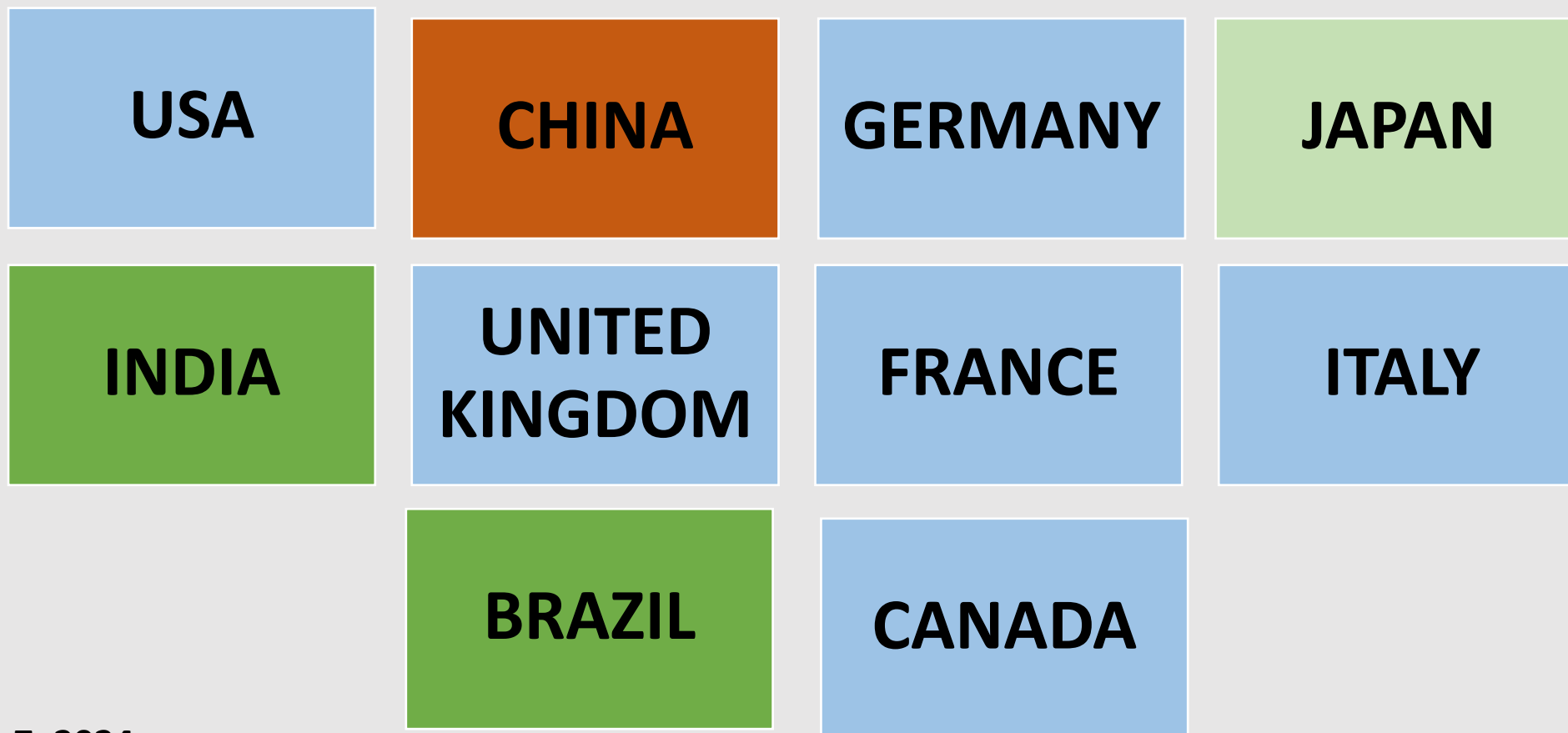








# TOP TEN COUNTRIES HAVING THE LARGEST GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT



# NATO TREATY

Washington, April 4, 1949

- **Articles – Media versus reality**
- **Sovereign Nations**
- **Consultation – Article 4**
- **Open to the Future – Article 10**



# **Washington Treaty – 1949 – Article 2**

- **The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being.**

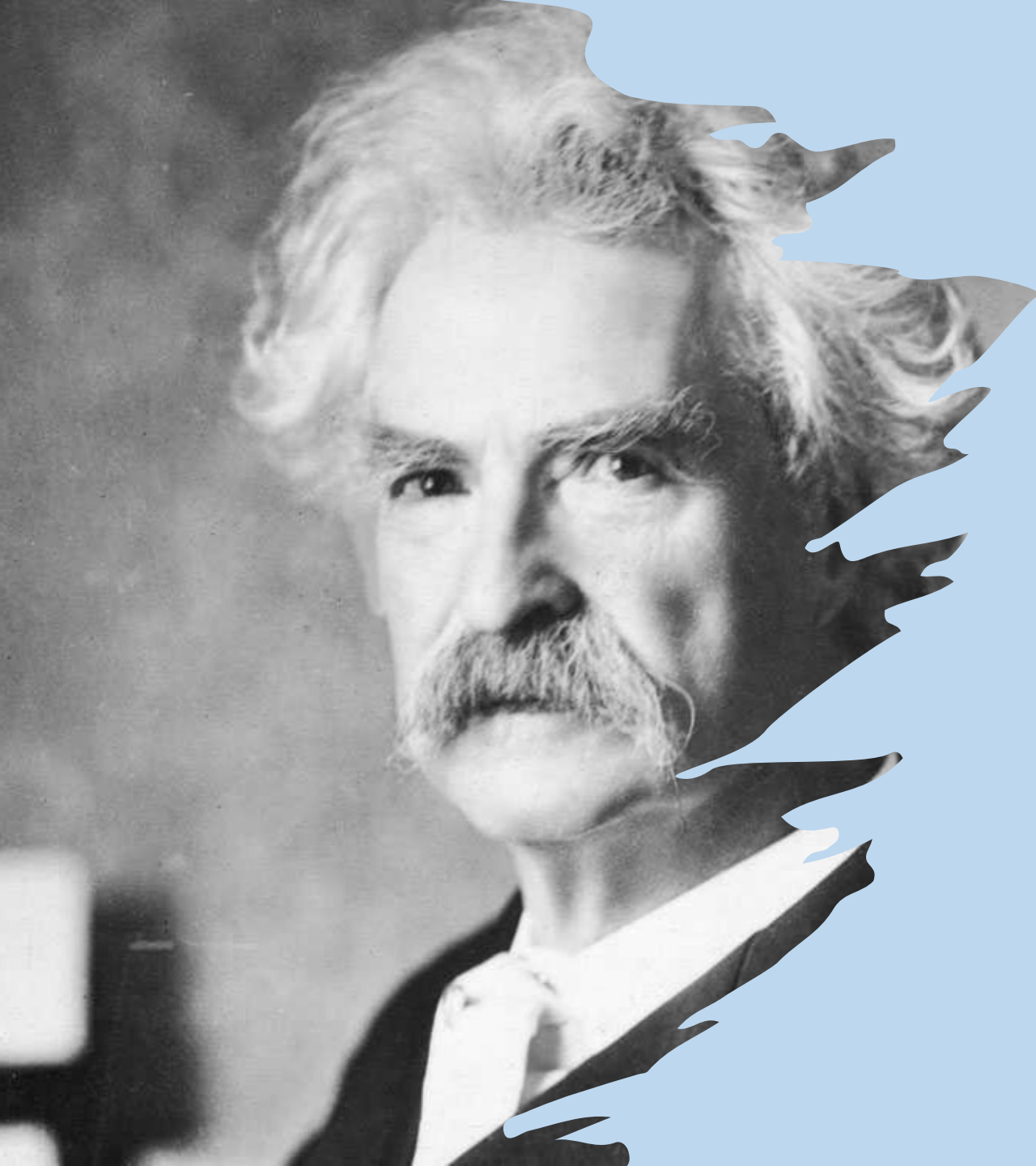
# NATO Treaty, Article 4

- The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

Article 4 has been invoked seven times since the alliance's founding in 1949, five times by Türkiye, once by Poland (2014) regarding RU invading Crimea, Ukraine, and the most recent, Feb 24, 2022, by eight Allies regarding the further Russian invasion of Ukraine.

(Bulgaria, Czechia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia.)





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**It ain't what you  
don't know that  
gets you in trouble.**

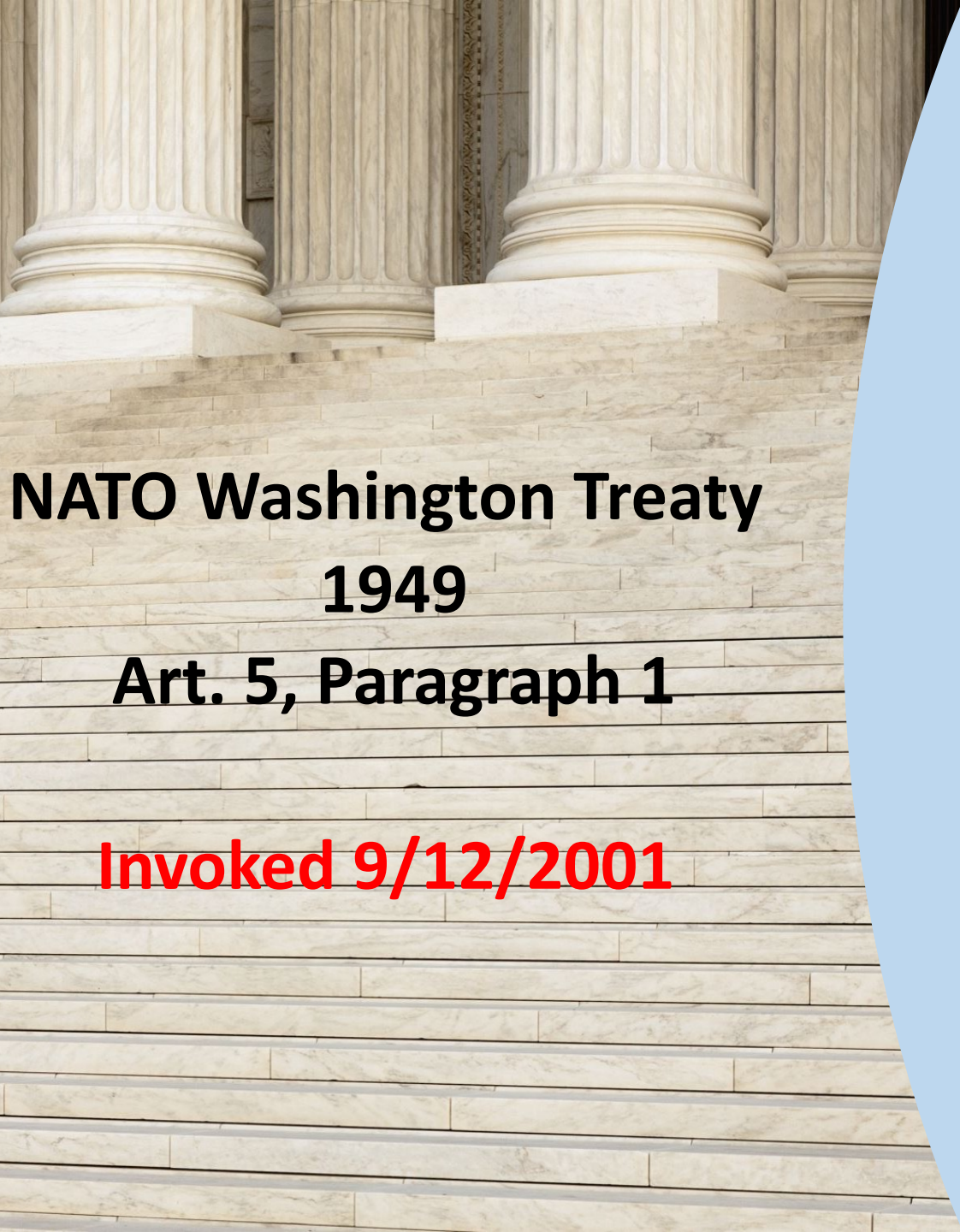
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**It's what you  
know for sure  
that just ain't so.**

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**SAMUEL CLEMENS 1835-1910**



# NATO Washington Treaty 1949

## Art. 5, Paragraph 1

**Invoked 9/12/2001**

The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently they agree that, **if such an armed attack occurs, each of them**, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, **will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually, and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary**, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.



JANUARY 15, 2024 – MURAL COMPLETED IN VILNIUS, LITHUANIA





1949



1952



1955



1982



1999



2004



2009



2017



2020



2022



Names and boundary representation are not necessarily authoritative.





PM ORBAN ADDRESSES  
HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT 2.26.2024

## Sweden's NATO bid passed its final obstacle

Hungary's Parliament voted today (Feb.26) to accept Sweden as a new member of NATO, clearing the final hurdle that had long held up the expansion of the military alliance. The approval sealed a major shift in the balance of power between the West and Russia set off by the war in Ukraine.

The vote followed a decision by Sweden to provide Hungary with four Swedish-made fighter jets and a promise that Saab, which manufactures the warplanes, would open an A.I. research center in Hungary. Prime

Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary, who has maintained cordial relations with President Vladimir Putin, has a long record of using his veto power over key decisions in Europe.





© DEFENSIE – Michael Moors







# NATO basic structure

Civil Organisation .....

2014



**SECGEN Jens STOLTENBERG**



International Staff  
and Committees

..... Military Organisation

2021



**LT. ADM. Rob BAUER, NLN  
Chairman, Mil Cte (CMC)**

Military Committee

International  
Military Staff

Strategic commands

**GEN Christopher CAVOLI, USA  
SACEUR / SACO  
(COMUSEUCOM)**

2022

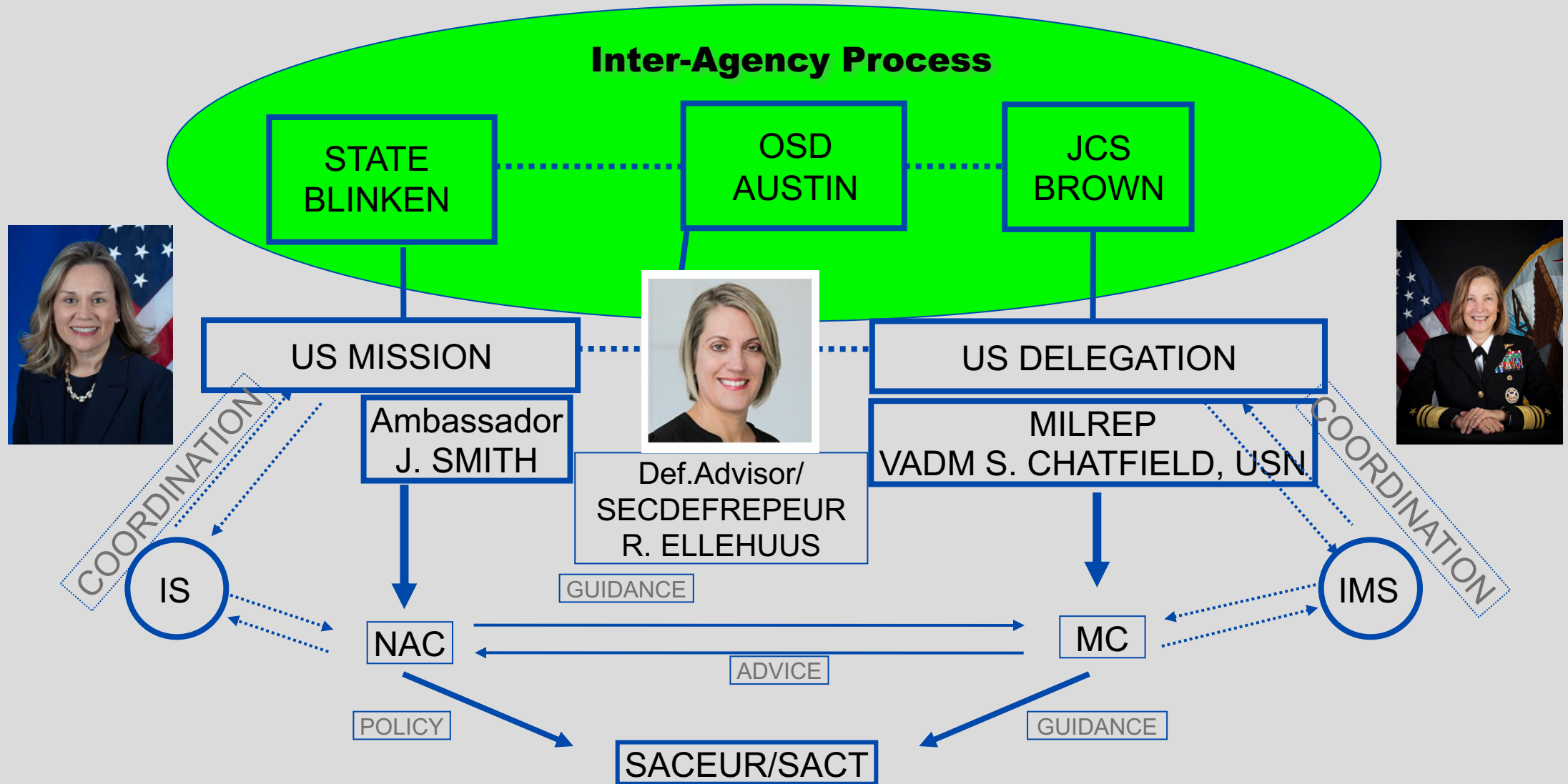


**GEN Philippe LAVIGNE  
FRAF, SACT**

2021



# United States Representation at NATO HQ







# NATO Decision Making

- Consensus
- Silence Procedure
- Footnoting

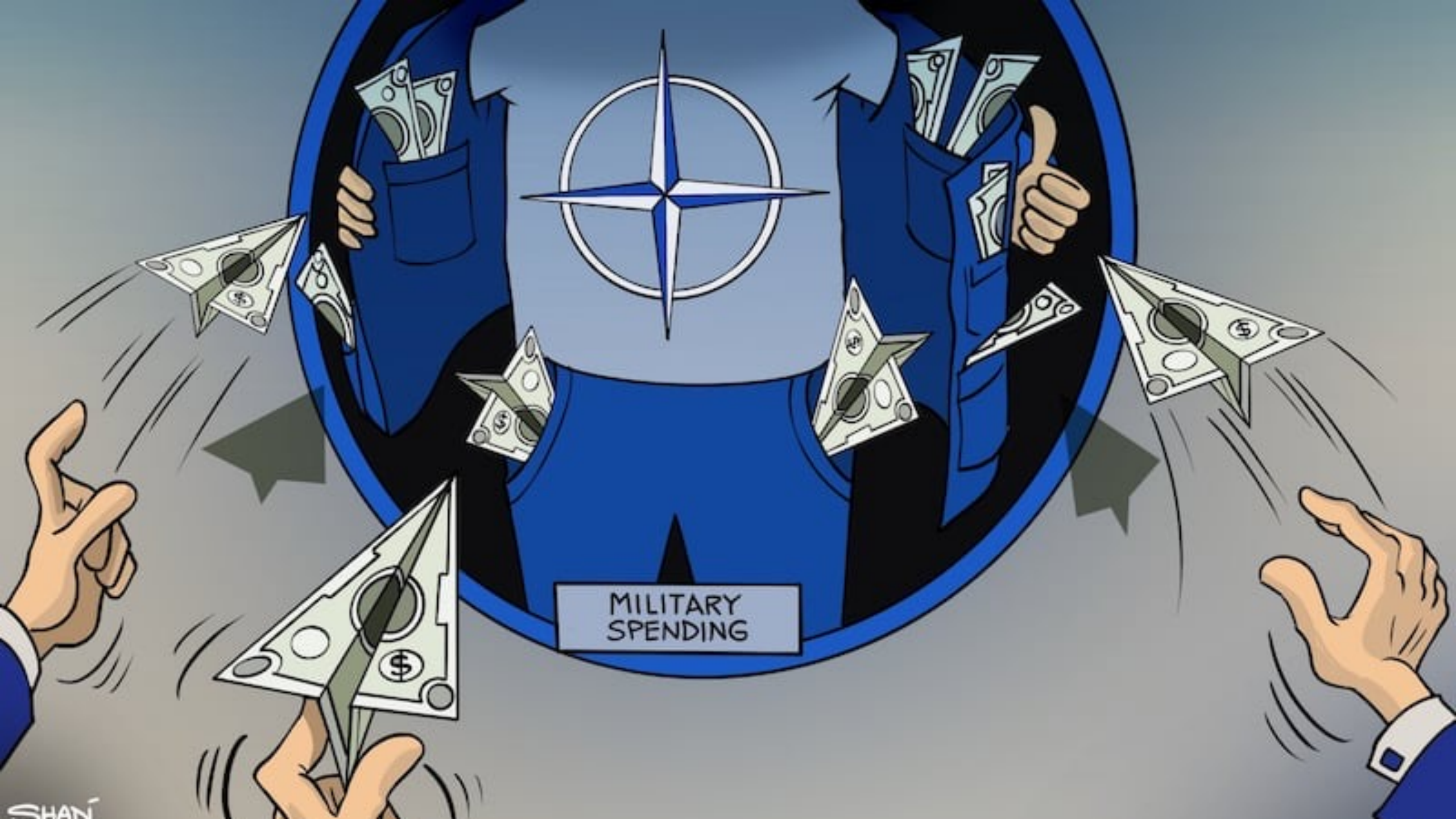


# NATO 2024 BUDGET

Allies agreed NATO's civil and military budgets for 2024 at a meeting of the North Atlantic Council on Wednesday (13 December 2023). The civil budget is set at €438.1 million, and the military budget is set at €2.03 billion, representing a 18.2% and 12% increase respectively over 2023.

- Seven countries contribute a total of ca. 74%, ranging from 5-16%
  - US, GE, UK, FR, IT, CA, SP





MILITARY  
SPENDING



# Defense expenditures of NATO countries as a percentage of GDP 2023

- In 2023, Poland's defense spending as a share of gross domestic product was 3.9 percent, the highest of all NATO member states, followed by the United States at 3.49 percent. It is a target of NATO that every member country should spend at least two percent of their GDP on defense. As of this year, it is estimated that eleven of the alliance's 31 member states were meeting this target. The average expenditure on defense expenditure across all NATO member states was 2.64 percent in 2023, compared with 2.57 percent in the previous year.

# NATO 2022 STRATEGIC CONCEPT





# CHALLENGES

---

## **China's rise**

Restrictive state with  
major international goals

## **Russia's decline**

Economically vulnerable,  
yet attacking and  
expansionist

## **Islam's struggle**

Collateral damage to the  
West

## **America's leadership and endurance**

Global realignments  
and transactional relations

## **Rising illiberal leadership**


HU, TU, PL, US

## **Rising anti-Semitism, racism, sexism**

US, HU, GE, FR

## **Trade war**

Divide among North  
Americans and Europeans,  
China

A man in a dark blue military uniform with a pilot's wing and a ribbon bar is speaking at a podium. He is bald, wearing glasses, and has his right hand raised with the index finger pointing up. The background is a dark blue wall with logos for the Center for European Studies and the University of Texas at Austin.

SACT - GEN. LAVIGNE  
AUSTIN, TX, 2.6.2024

*“Do our opponents think NATO is an asset to the United States?”*

*“to answer that question all you need to do is consider how hard Russia and China are working to divide Allies, to undermine the Alliance!”*



# SACT and SACO



GEN. P.  
LAVIGNE.  
FAF

**ALLIED COMMAND  
TRANSFORMATION (ACT)**  
NORFOLK, VA USA



GEN. C.  
CAVOLI  
USA

**SUPREME HEADQUARTERS  
ALLIED POWERS EUROPE (SHAPE)**  
ALLIED COMMAND OPERATIONS  
MONS, BELGIUM



# NATO Missions and Operations

**KOSOVO** - KFOR – 4500#, 27 nations, from 1999, safe and secure environment, support and coordinate the international humanitarian effort, civil presence, support the development of a stable, democratic, multi-ethnic and peaceful Kosovo,, support the development of the Kosovo Security Force

## **MARITIME SECURITY**

**Standing Naval Forces** = MARITIME GROUPS (2), MINE COUNTERMEASURES GROUPS (2), in Atlantic, Baltic, North Mediterranean, Black sea

**Sea Guardian** – Mediterranean, maritime security capacity-building, situational awareness and counter-terrorism, from Nov 2016

**Aegean Sea** – assist migrant and refugee crisis – from February 2016, NATO has deployed a maritime force to conduct reconnaissance, monitoring and surveillance of crossings

**NATO MISSION IRAQ** – From 2018 -non-combat advisory and capacity-building mission that aims to strengthen Iraqi security institutions and forces

**NATO support to TURKIYE earthquake relief** – from 2023, three temporary relief sites , numerous airlift missions of temporary shelters, supplies, also Patriot Missile defense

**eAP – Enhanced AIR POLICING** – since 1960s, increased since 2.2022



## 4 Multinational Battlegroups

### ESTONIA:

United Kingdom  
Belgium  
Denmark  
France  
Iceland

### LITHUANIA:

Germany  
Belgium  
Czech Republic  
Iceland  
The Netherlands  
Norway

### LATVIA:

Canada  
Albania  
Czech Republic  
Italy  
Montenegro  
Poland  
Slovakia  
Slovenia  
Spain

### POLAND:

United States  
Croatia  
Romania  
United Kingdom

 Framework Nation  
 Contributing Nation

Valid as of 23 April 2019



# NATO Enhanced Forward Presence



**EXERCISE STEADFAST DEFENDER  
JAN – MAY 31, 2024**

**USS GUNSTON HALL**



**WHY**

**To demonstrate NATO's ability to defend every inch of its territory, and the commitment by NATO Allies to protect each other from any threat**

**WHERE**

**The first part of the exercise focuses on securing the Atlantic up to the Arctic; the second part focuses on moving troops across Europe, from the High North to Central and Eastern Europe**





## NATO Exercise

Steadfast Defender 24

- **31** Allies + Sweden
- Soldiers, sailors + airmen: **90,000**
- More than **50** naval vessels
- More than **80** aircraft
- More than **1,100** combat vehicles

U.S. B1 strategic bomber lands in Sweden February 23, 2024









# NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE, 7/11/2023

- [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_217320.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_217320.htm)

90 paragraphs, to which Sweden agreed with this phrase:

*"The NATO Invitee associates itself with this Communiqué."*

- *Read it to get a sense of NATO language, considering that 31 countries governments agreed to the chosen language.*
- *Present also were heads of state and government of Australia, Japan, New Zealand, and the Republic of Korea, and the President of the European Council and the President of the European Commission.*





NATO  
SUMMIT  
WASHINGTON

JULY 9-11  
2024



**What about UKRAINE ?**



**Allies have also reaffirmed that Ukraine will become a member of NATO and agreed to remove the requirement for a Membership Action Plan. “This will change Ukraine’s membership path from a two-step process to a one-step process,” said the Secretary General, adding: “we will issue an invitation for Ukraine to join NATO when Allies agree that conditions are met.”**

While you are  
waiting for this bus,  
**Ukraine is waiting  
for F-16s.**

# **ArmUkraine**









**ADDING TO YOUR  
MULTICULTURAL SUCCESS**





**WE DO NOT SEE THINGS AS THEY ARE,  
WE SEE THINGS AS WE ARE.**

**Talmud, 55BCE**





Add to your international success:

- *Lean in with your curiosity to understand the cultures*
- Ensure you are understood
- Consistency across allies
- Politesse
- Hone your networking skills



# *Understand these for multicultural success*

NATO is not  
the USA.

History lives.

Listen  
strategically.

Consider the  
person who is  
**not** speaking.

Perception  
equals reality.

Rhetoric does  
not equal  
resources.

Listen for  
what is not  
said.

Read for what  
is not written.

Perception  
does not  
equal reality.

***What does  
success look  
like to YOU?***

***What is the  
art of the  
possible?***

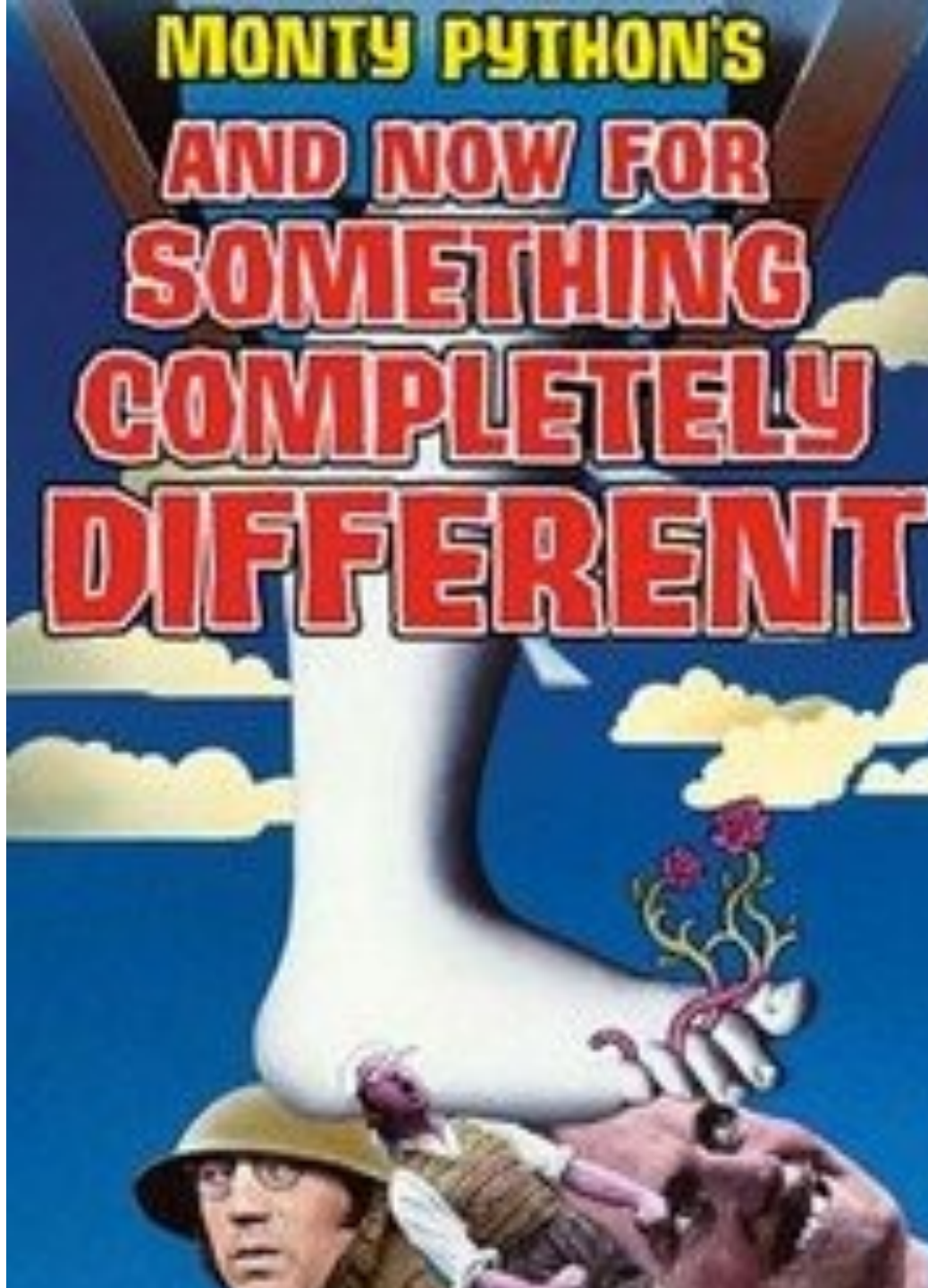


# CAPSTONE POLL

**In ten years,  
will NATO be:**

- **ENLARGED ?**
- **DIMINISHED ?**
- **HISTORY ?**





*Let's take a  
break*



# The Past is Important

Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair.

**George Washington**

We have a great dream. It started way back in 1776, and God grant that America will be true to her dream.

**Martin Luther King, Jr.**

Whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America.

**Dwight D. Eisenhower**

The background of the slide is the European Union flag, featuring a blue field with twelve yellow five-pointed stars arranged in a circle. The flag is shown with a slight texture and folds.

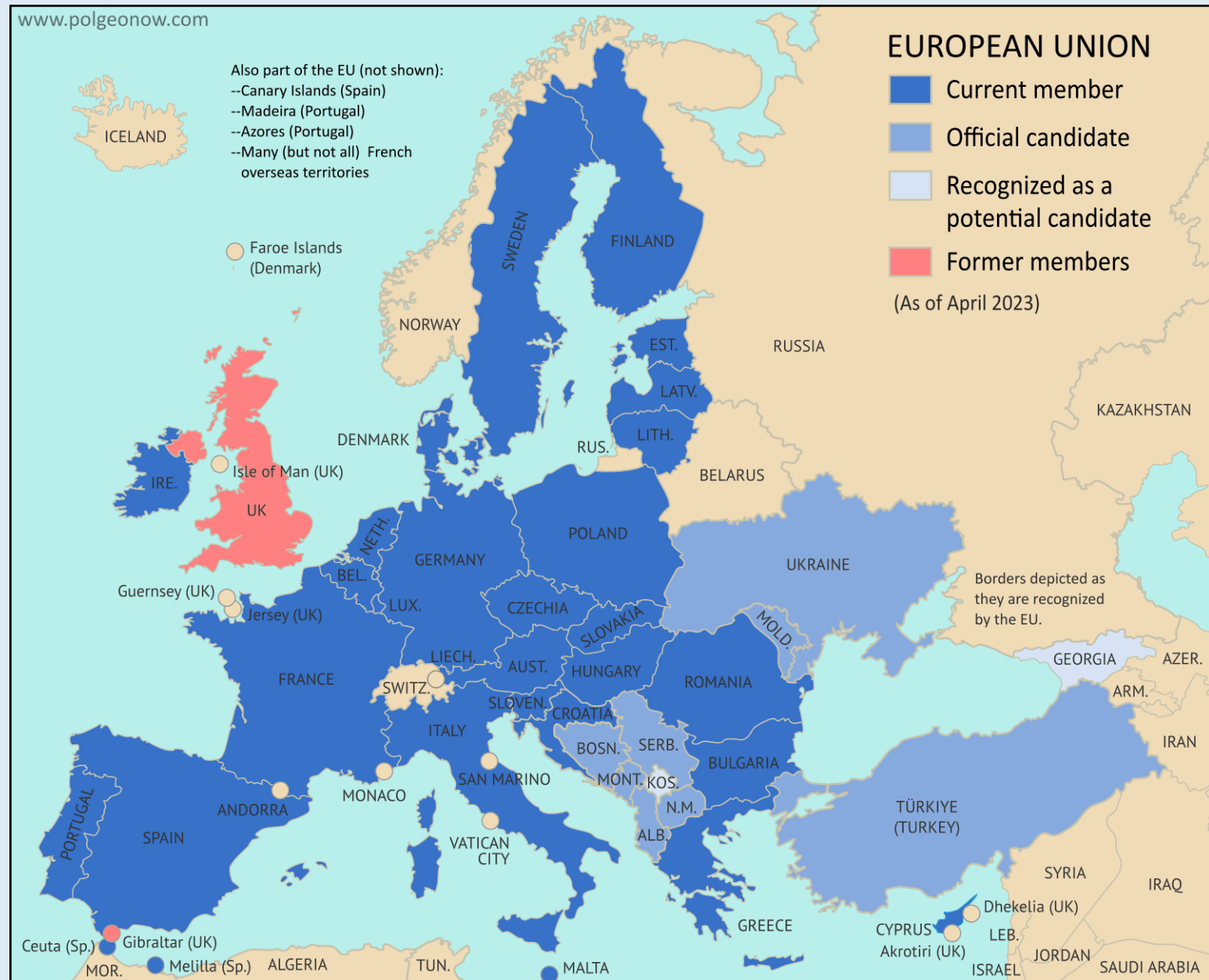
# ***The European Union***

***Europe's Not What It Used To Be***



# The European Union July 2023

- 27 countries
- 24 official languages
- 448 m. population



# A BIT OF HISTORY

BE, FR, GE,  
IT, LU, NL  
EURO COAL  
AND STEEL  
COMMUN-  
NITY

1951

NAME  
BECOMES  
EUROPEAN  
ECONOMIC  
COMMUNITY

1958

EUROPEAN  
ANTHEM  
ADOPTED

• [https://www.coe.int/02/\\_lfr/dc/audio/piano\\_hymne.mp3](https://www.coe.int/02/_lfr/dc/audio/piano_hymne.mp3)

1972

NAME  
CHANGE  
EURO-  
PEAN  
UNION

1993

LAUNCH  
OF THE  
EURO

2002

UK LEAVES  
THE EU =  
BREXIT

2020





**“Joining the EU is  
the best way to  
protect our  
democracy and  
our institutions,”  
Moldovan  
President Maia  
Sandu**

**Moldovan rally  
5.21.2023  
61 % favor  
joining the EU**





# Freedom of Movement

- No police or customs checks at borders between most EU countries
- Controls strengthened at the EU's external borders
- More cooperation between police from different EU countries

**Schengen**  
**6/14/1985**

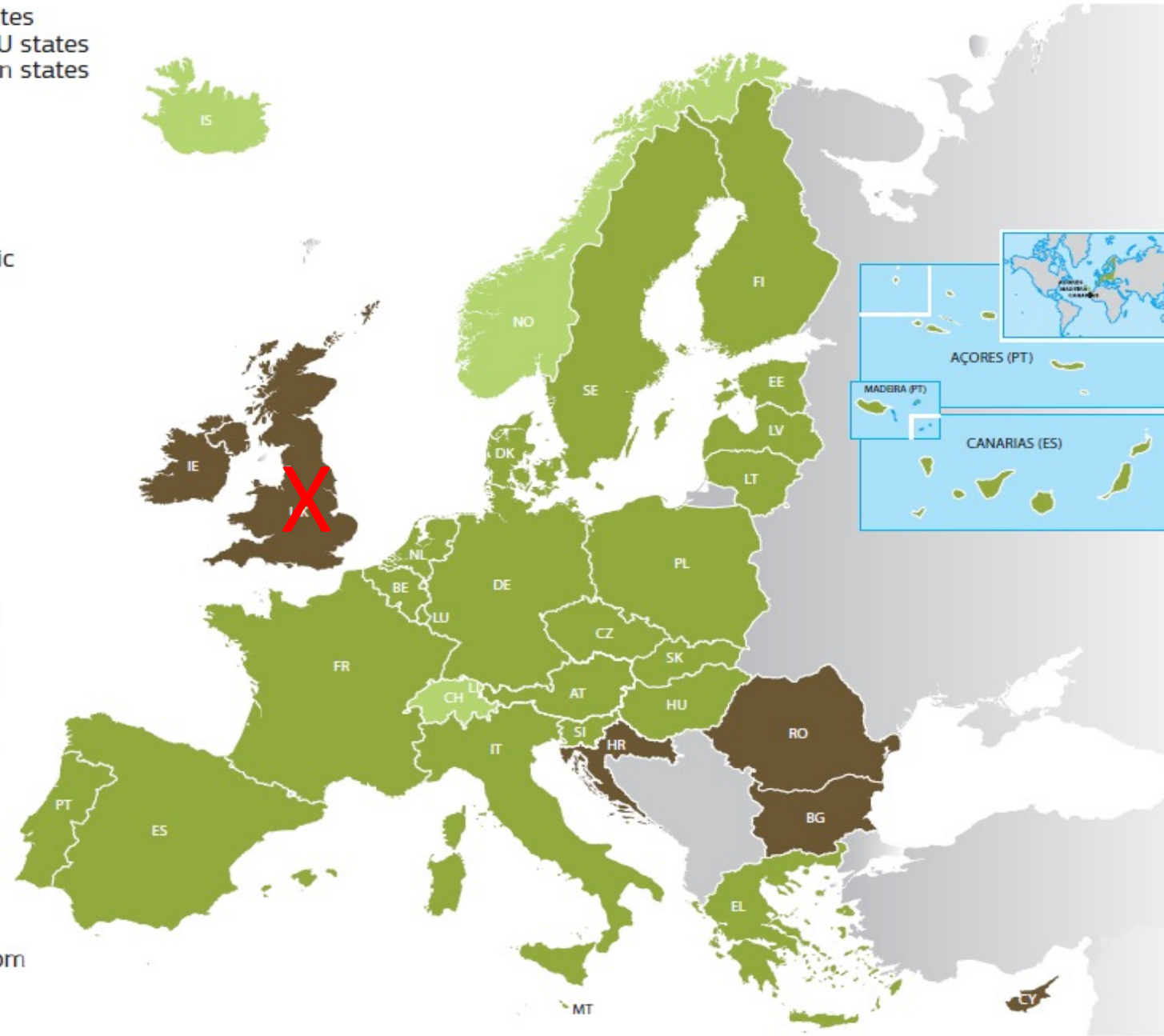




## The Schengen area

- EU Schengen states
- Non-Schengen EU states
- Non-EU Schengen states

AT	Austria
BE	Belgium
BG	Bulgaria
CH	Switzerland
CY	Cyprus
CZ	Czech Republic
DE	Germany
DK	Denmark
EE	Estonia
EL	Greece
ES	Spain
FI	Finland
FR	France
HR	Croatia
HU	Hungary
IE	Ireland
IS	Iceland
IT	Italy
LI	Liechtenstein
LT	Lithuania
LU	Luxembourg
LV	Latvia
MT	Malta
NL	Netherlands
NO	Norway
PL	Poland
PT	Portugal
RO	Romania
SE	Sweden
SI	Slovenia
SK	Slovakia
UK	United Kingdom

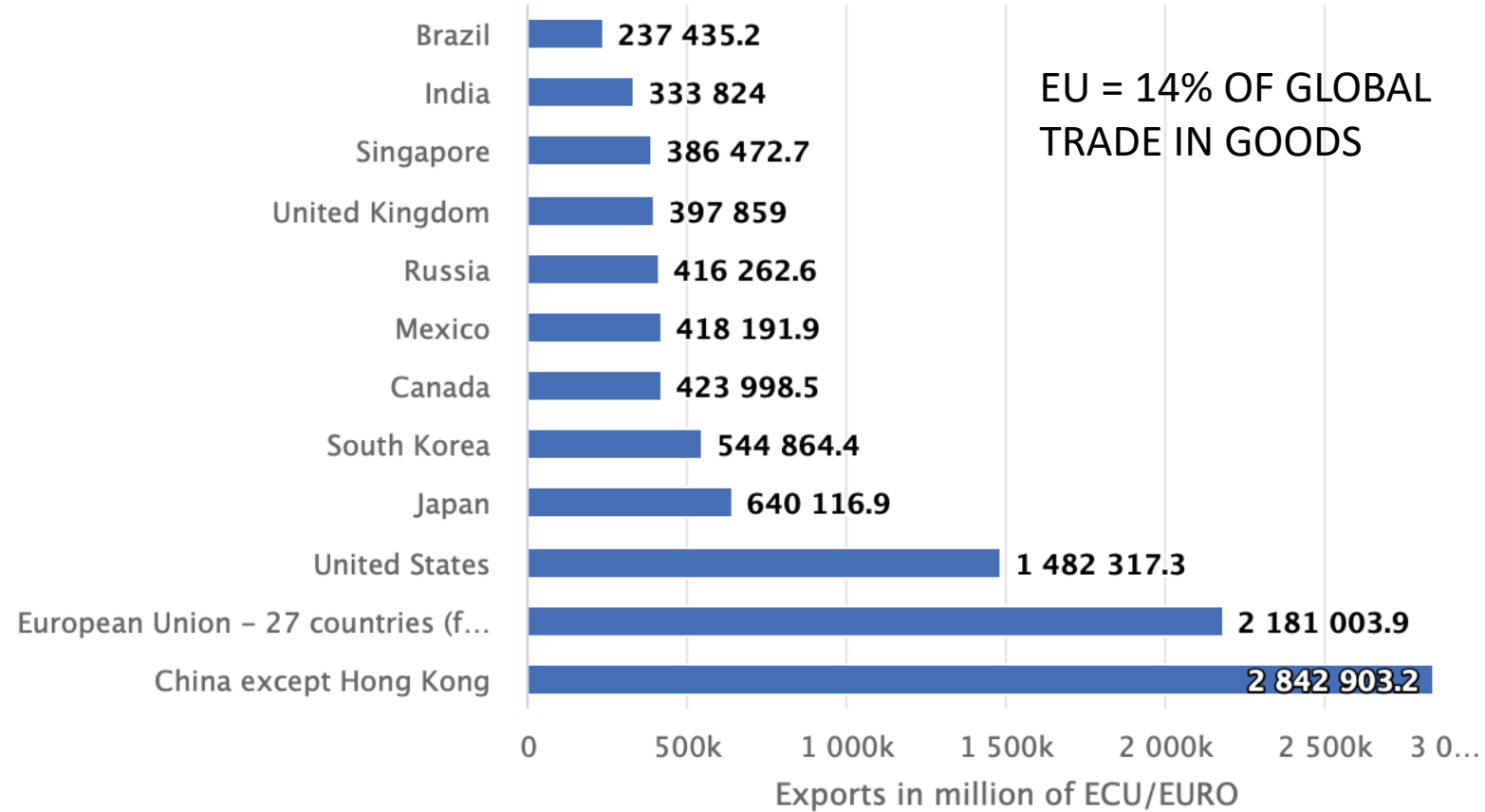


## **Five Points to Remember About the EU**

1. The member states rule.
2. The EU does NOT want to be NATO.
3. EU bodies, procedures, and law are labyrinthine.
4. The EU does not always speak with one voice
5. The EU does not do democracy well



## Share of European Union EU27 (from 2020) in the World Trade



# Three Key Actors and Voices



## *The European Parliament*

- Voice of the People

**ROBERTA MITSOULA**, President of the European Parliament

## *The European Council*

- Voice of the Member States

**CHARLES MICHEL**, President of the European Council



## *The European Commission*

- Promoting the common interest

**URSULA VAN DER LEYEN**, President of the European Commission,





# High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security

## Josep Borrell Fontelles

- **Manages Common Foreign and Security Policy**
- **VP of European Commission**
- **Chairs Foreign Affairs Council**
- **Heads EU External Action Service**



# *Key Officials*

## *The European Parliament*

- Voice of the People

**ROBERTA MITSOULA**, President of the European Parliament



## *The European Council*

- Voice of the Member States

**CHARLES MICHEL**, President of the European Council



## *The European Commission*

- Promoting the common interest

**URSULA VAN DER LEYEN**, President of the European Commission,





# European Parliament

705 Members of European Parliament (MEPs)

- Sit by party, not nationality
- Only directly elected part of EU
- Elected to 5 year terms
- Seats appointed by MS' population

Political powers

- Approves appointment of Commission
- Censure/fire Commission

Legislative powers

- Shares power with Council on some issues

Budgetary powers

- Must approve EU budget
- Modify certain EU expenditures
- 2 BN Euro budget (ca. 2.18 BN US\$)

Voting age: 18 (AUSTRIA, MALTA 16)



Brussels



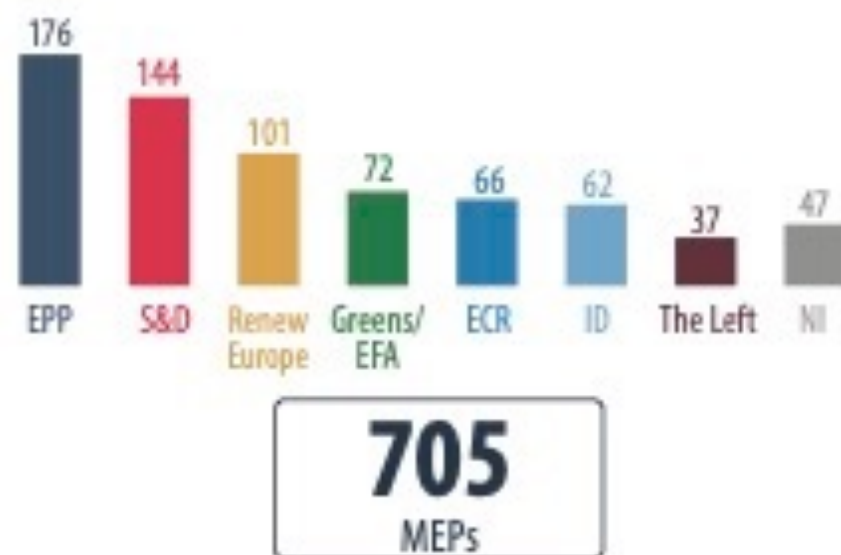
Strasbourg

This briefing, published by the European Parliamentary Research Service, aims to provide a broad range of key facts and figures about the European Parliament. Its many graphics offer a picture of the Parliament's Members and the institution's structures and activity in the current parliamentary term (July 2019 to June 2024) and in previous 5-year terms since direct elections were introduced in June 1979.

## European Parliament, 2019-2024

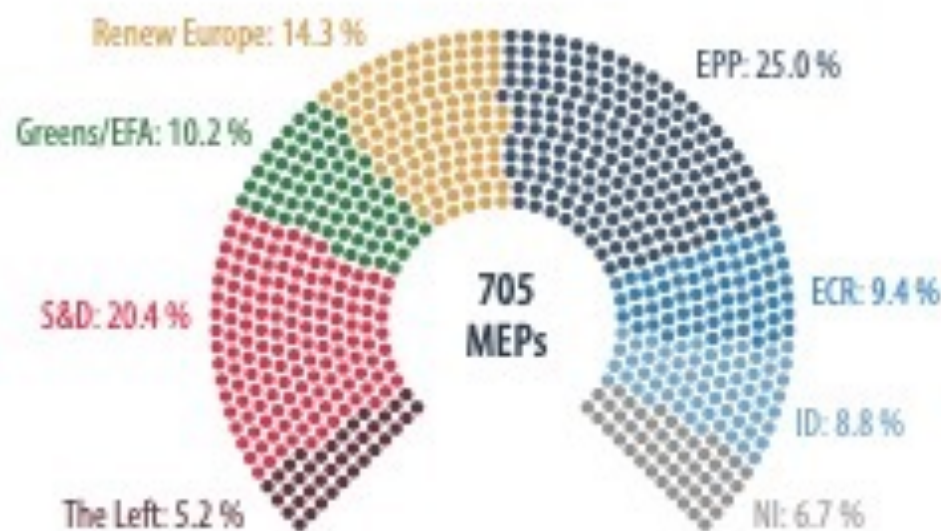
### Size of the political groups

Number of Members in each political group as of 1 May 2023



### Proportion of Members in each political group

Share of the total 705 Members in the Parliament by political group.







## THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

The European Council defines the EU's overall political direction and priorities and sets the EU's policy agenda. It usually adopts conclusions during European Council meetings which identify issues of concern and actions to take. It does not negotiate or adopt EU laws.



## **Members of the European Council**

The members of the European Council are the heads of state or government of the 27 EU member states, the European Council President and the President of the European Commission.





# The European Commission

Commission is the EU's executive arm and **runs the Union day-to-day**

- 27 Members (one per MS) – 5 year term
- **Has power of the purse**
- “Guardian of the treaties”
- **Significant power player internationally**
  - **Actions binding abroad (esp. in US)**
- **Will enforce any new Euro regulations**
- Commissioners are appointed by EU members, do not represent member states' views
- **Can negotiate and act on its own**

# 6 EU Commission priorities for 2019-24

1. Europe aims to be the first climate-neutral continent.
2. The EU's digital strategy will empower people with a new generation of technologies.
3. The EU must create a more attractive investment environment, and growth that creates quality jobs, especially for young people and small businesses.
4. The EU will strengthen its voice in the world by championing multilateralism and a rules-based global order.
5. *Europe* must protect the rule of law if it is to stand up for justice and the EU's core values.
6. We need to give Europeans a bigger say and protect our democracy from external interference such as disinformation and online hate messages.



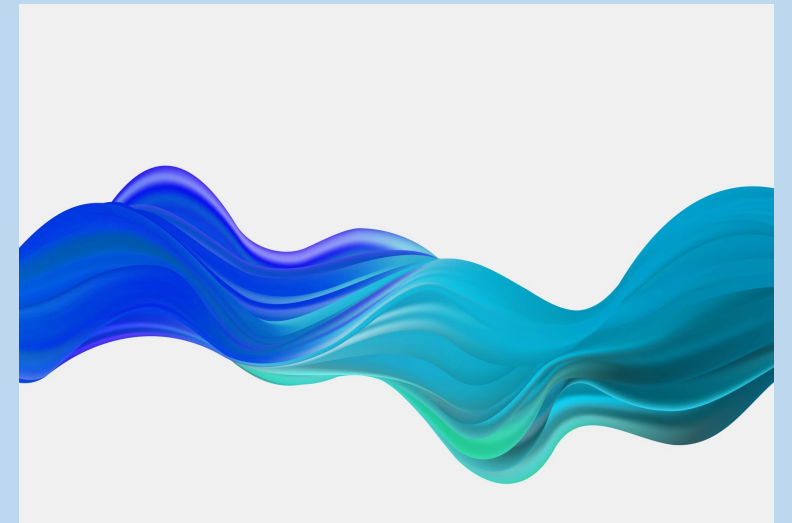
# EU BUDGET 2024\*

On 11 November 2023, the Council and the European Parliament reached agreement on the annual EU budget for 2024. Total commitments are set at €189.39 billion. Total payments amount to €142.63 billion.

204.94 Billion US Dollars

1 Euro = \$ 1.08

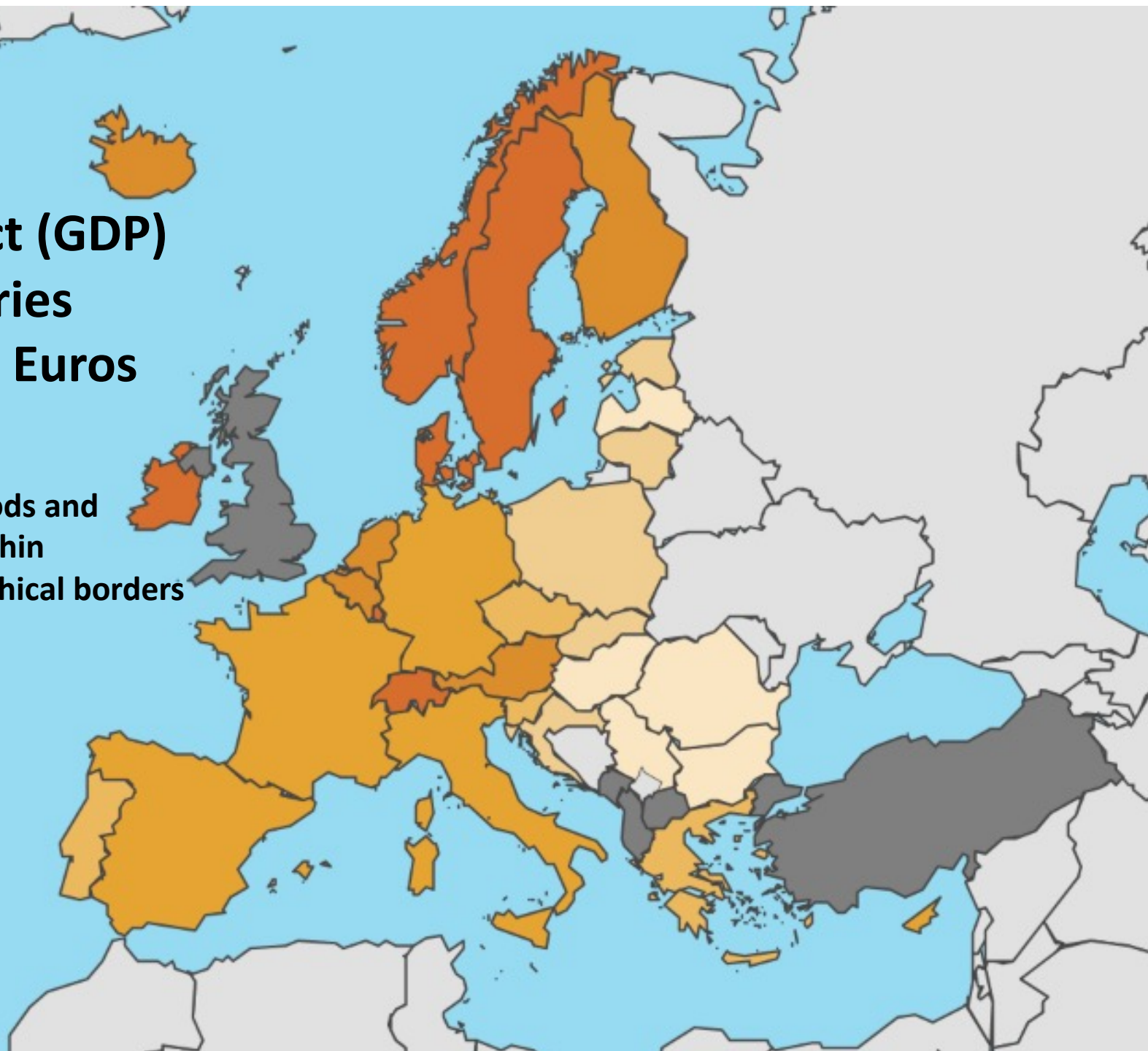
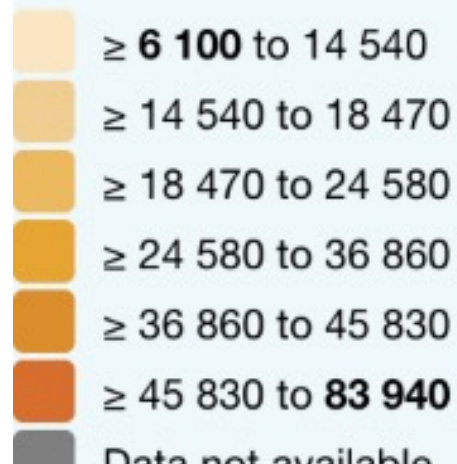
**\*NOT A SUMMATION OF 28 COUNTRIES' BUDGETS**



**Gross Domestic Product (GDP)**  
**European Union countries**  
**Real GDP per capita, in Euros**  
**100 Euros = US \$108**

GDP measures the goods and  
services produced within  
the country's geographical borders

**Legend**







## **Summit of EU Heads of State and Governments**

- **Held at least 4 times a year, Mar, Jun, Oct, Dec in Brussel – 6 per year since 2008**
- **Sets the overall guidelines for EU policies**

# The Euro – a single European currency

1 Euro = US \$ 1.08

Feb 25, 2024

- No fluctuation risk and foreign exchange cost
- More choice and stable prices for consumers
- Closer economic cooperation between EU countries
- Coins: one side with national symbols, one side common
- Notes: no national side







# THE EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK

- Ensures price stability
- Controls money supply and decides interest rates
- Supervises that banks are safe
- Works independently from governments

**CHRISTINE LAGARDE PRES., ECB**







The U.S. and European economies are deeply intertwined. According to U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis data, the transatlantic economy—including the 27 EU member states and non-EU countries such as the United Kingdom (UK), Norway, and Switzerland—typically generates close to \$6 trillion per year in foreign affiliate sales and directly employs around 10 million workers on both sides of the Atlantic.

The United States and the EU are each other's largest overall trade and investment partners.

CRS, Archick, Feb 2023





IS THE EUROPEAN HOUSE ON FIRE?



## **Munich Security Conference 2024**

### **Feb 16-18, 2024**

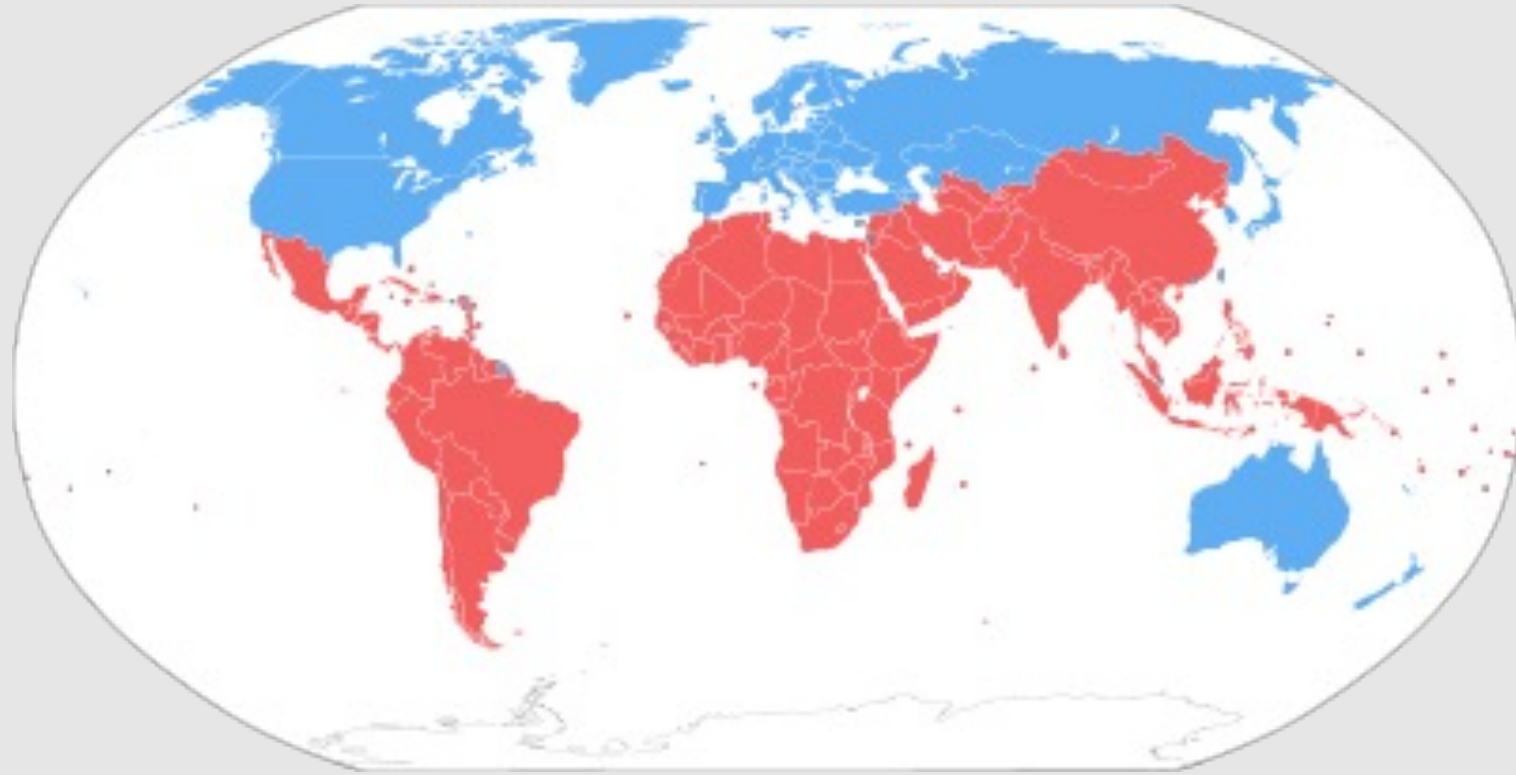
**..almost 1,000 participants, among them 45 heads of state or government, represented 109 countries. Across 60 sessions in the main program, more than half of speakers were female and more than a quarter from the Global South.**

**Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelenskyy saw the announcement of Navalny's death as a clear message to the leaders attending the conference. He stressed that Putin was waging a “war against any rules at all.” Zelenskyy issued an urgent call to remedy Ukraine's “artificial deficit” of artillery ammunition, long-range missiles, and air defense systems. The fall of Avdiivka to Russian troops during the conference weekend hammered the message of the impact of dwindling ammunition supplies home.**

## JOSEP BORELL - MUNICH SECURITY CONFERENCE – 2.18.2024

“And the most important events today are related to three geographical issues, which are: Ukraine, Gaza, and the Global South.

And the Global South - the third one. They have their own dynamic, but no doubt that the war in Ukraine and in Gaza has increased tremendously the political space of the Global South vis-a-vis us. And that we have to avoid ‘The rest against the West’.”





**VICE PRESIDENT KAMALA HARRIS**  
**MUNICH SECURITY CONFERENCE - FEB 16, 2024**

**This year, we gather amid an increased instability and conflict in the Middle East. We gather amid Russia's ongoing aggression in Ukraine, China's efforts to reshape the international order, transformative technological change, and, of course, the existential threat of the climate crisis.**

**In this context, I know that there are questions here in Europe and around the world about the future of America's role of global leadership.**

**These are questions the American people must also ask ourselves: Whether it is in America's interest to continue to engage with the world or to turn inward. Whether it is in our interest to defend longstanding rules and norms that have provided for unprecedented peace and prosperity or to allow them to be trampled. Whether it is in America's interest to fight for democracy or to accept the rise of dictators. And whether it is in America's interest to continue to work in lockstep with our allies and partners or go it alone.**

## **China: Press remarks by High Representative Josep Borrell after concluding his visit to the country. OCT 15, 2023**

... since the war in Ukraine, Europe has become a geopolitical power. We started being a trade power, after [being] an economic power. Now, **the war in Ukraine has converted us in a geopolitical power, not just an economic one and we want to talk with China from this approach. Do not look at the European Union relations through the lens of the relations with others.**

...for us Russia represents a huge threat for our security and that we are committed to support Ukraine facing the Russian invasion and asking China to take into consideration this very tough position from our side, **considering Russia as a security threat for the whole European Union.**

...we have to rebalance our economic bilateral relations. **We have a huge deficit that has increased 60% in the last years.** And this should not be the consequence of just a competitive disadvantage between the European Union and China.



## **BORRELL COMMENTS IN CHINA, CONTINUED**

But despite the differences, we believe that there is still a space for cooperation and **the most important challenges that the world is facing cannot be solved without a strong engagement with China.**

The first one is climate change. China is burning as much coal as the rest of the world together, in spite of the strong development of renewables in China's energy mix. **The increase of coal powered electricity production in China is offsetting the reduction in the rest of the world. So, [there is] no way of solving the climate change problem without a strong engagement and partnership with China.**

We can say the same thing about the level of debt of the emerging countries and the possibility of having a new debt crisis on the way. We have to look at that because **China has become the biggest creditor of the emerging economies.**

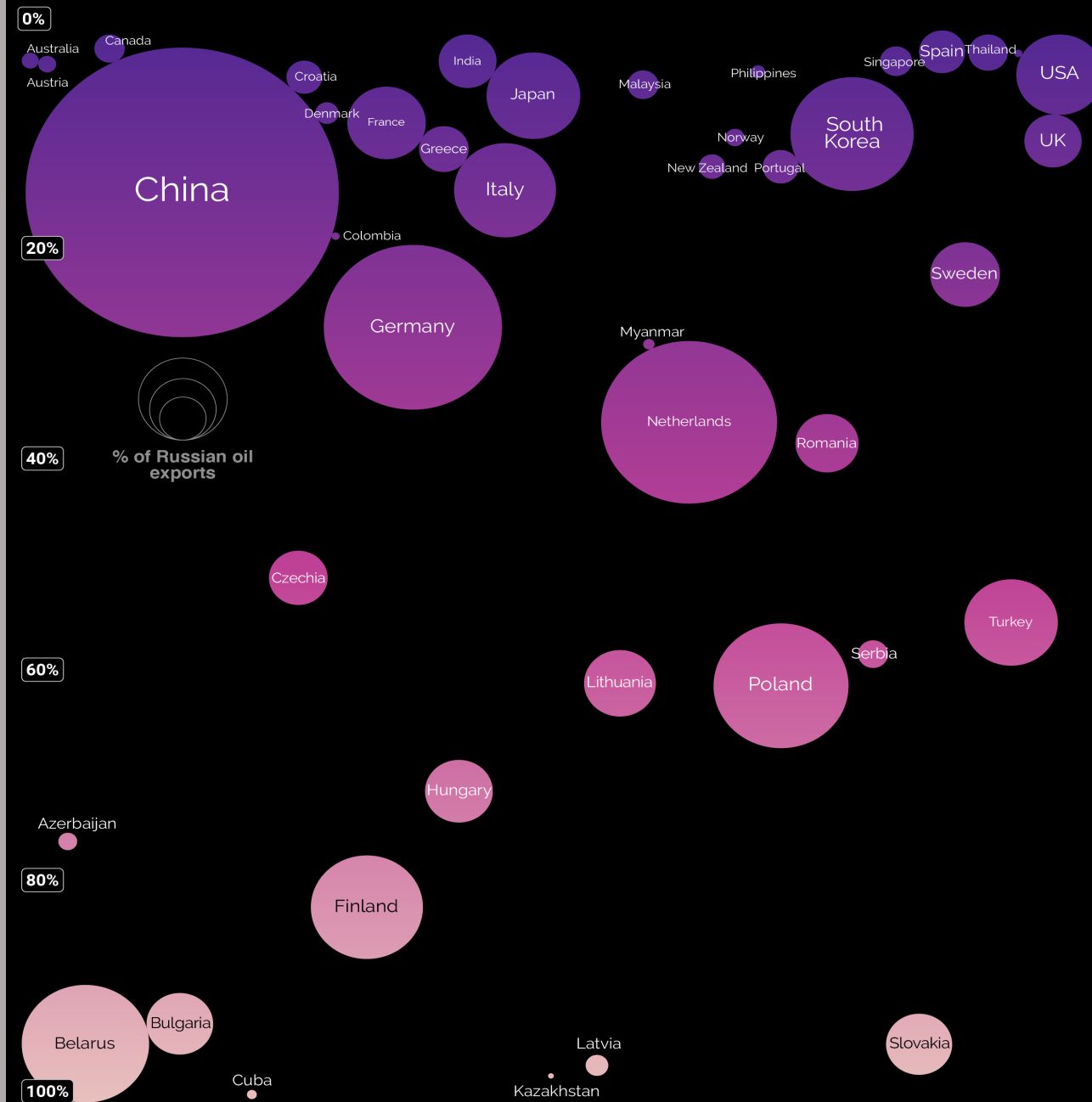








# % Dependency on Russian Oil Exports





# Russia



- Kaliningrad (larger than Conn.)
- Ukraine
- Syria
- Gas production and distribution
- Election / media attacks

- A protest against the right-wing government of Prime Minister Viktor Orban in Budapest, Hungary.

- Laszlo Balogh/Getty Images







Partia Pracy - 31,6%  
Platforma Obywatelska - 13,0%  
Wielka Koalicja - 8,6%  
Konfederacja - 6,2%



FOR MORE  
INFORMATION

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[WWW.NATO.INT](http://WWW.NATO.INT)

[WWW.EUROPA.EU](http://WWW.EUROPA.EU)



